

Message Text

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6787

INFO AMCONSUL HONG KONG

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 7 PEKING 2368

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR, ECON, CH, US, UR, TW, OREP (CURTIS, CARL)

SUBJECT: TRANSCRIPT OF LI HSIEN-NIEN/CODEL CURTIS CONVERSATION

REF: PEKING 2353

1. THERE FOLLOWS NEARLY VERBATIM TRANSCRIPT, CLEARED BY
SENATOR CURTIS, OF CONVERSATION BETWEEN CODEL CURTIS AND
PRC VICE PREMIER LI HSIEN-NIEN ON NOVEMBER 14, 4:45 -
6:15 P.M., AT THE GREAT HALL OF THE PEOPLE. AMERICANS
PRESENT WERE:

CODEL:

SENATOR AND MRS. CARL CURTIS

SENATOR AND MRS. BIRCH BAYH

SENATOR AND MRS. MILTON YOUNG

SENATOR AND MRS. ERNEST HOLLINGS

SENATOR AND MRS. TED STEVENS

SENATOR AND MRS. BENNETT JOHNSON

MR. AND MRS. ROBERT WOLTHIUS

MR. TERRY HOWE

MR. RICHARD HART

USLO:

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AMBASSADOR GATES

MR. RICHARD BOCK

PRINCIPAL CHINESE PRESENT, IN ADDITION TO VICE
PREMIER LI, WERE:
VICE FOREIGN MINISTER WANG HAI-JUNG
TANG WEN-SHENG, DEPUTY DIRECTOR, AMERICAN AND OCEANIAN
DEPARTMENT, MFA
KO PO-NIEN, VICE PRESIDENT, CHINESE PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE
OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS (CPIFA)
KANG TAI-SHA, DEPUTY SECRETARY-GENERAL, CPIFA.

2. LI: WELCOME TO OUR FRIENDS.

CURTIS: WE ARE DELIGHTED TO BE HERE.

LI: TODAY YOU VISITED THE GREAT WALL?

CURTIS: WE HAVE READ OF IT THROUGH THE YEARS. FOR MANY OF US
THIS IS OUR FIRST VISIT TO CHINA AND WE WERE DELIGHTED TO VISIT
THE GREAT WALL.

LI: IT'S A PLACE OF HISTORICAL INTEREST. I WONDER WHETHER
ANY OF YOU HAVE BEEN TO CHINA BEFORE.

CURTIS: SENATOR STEVENS, TELL US OF YOUR FIRST TRIP TO CHINA.

STEVENS: I WAS IN THE 14TH AIR FORCE, STATIONED IN KUNMING AND
WAS HERE IN PEKING IN 1945 RIGHT AFTER THE WAR ENDED.

LI: THAT IS UNDER CHENNAULT?

STEVENS: YES, I SERVED WITH GENERAL CHENNAULT.

LI: YOU WERE IN CHINA DURING WORLD WAR II. AT THAT TIME YOU
HAD A TRANSPORT TEAM.

STEVENS: I WAS A PILOT. I FLEW TRANSPORT PLANES INTO SIAN,
HANKOW, KWEILIN, ALL OVER THE COUNTRY.

LI: HOW LONG SINCE YOU ARRIVED IN CHINA?
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CURTIS: WE ARRIVED LAST MONDAY, HAD A DELIGHTFUL STAY IN
SHANGHAI, TOOK THE TRAIN TO NANKING, ENJOYED OUR STAY THERE OF
TWO NIGHTS AND THEN HAD A VERY PLEASANT TRAIN RIDE HERE. WE HAVE
BEEN TREATED WONDERFULLY.

LI: SO YOU ARRIVED THE 8TH OF NOVEMBER. IN SHANGHAI DID YOU
READ THE BIG CHARACTER POSTERS?

CURTIS: WE COULDN'T READ THEM OURSELVES, BUT OUR GUIDES TOLD US ABOUT SOME OF THEM.

LI: YOU HAVE ARRIVED IN CHINA AT A TIME THAT THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE HAS MADE THE DECISION TO APPOINT HUA KUO-FENG AS CHAIRMAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND OF THE MILITARY COMMISSION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE. IT IS ALSO AT THE TIME THAT WE HAVE EXPLAINED THE SCHEMES OF THE GANG OF FOUR -- WANG HUNG-WEN, CHANG CHUN-CHIAO, CHIANG CHING, AND YAO WEN-YUAN. THE DECISION WAS MADE IN OCTOBER. THUS, YOU MUST HAVE SEEN MANY BIG CHARACTER POSTERS IN SHANGHAI.

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CURTIS: YES, WE DID.

LI: THAT WAS A MAJOR EVENT IN CHINA. THIS YEAR FIRST PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI PASSED AWAY, THEN CHU TEH, THE CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS, AND THEN OUR GREAT LEADER AND TEACHER CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG.

CURTIS: WE FOLLOW ALL THE NEWS WE GET FROM CHINA BECAUSE WE VALUE THE FRIENDSHIP OF YOUR GREAT COUNTRY. WE WISH TO EXPRESS OUR CONDOLENCES ON THE LOSS OF YOUR LEADERS, PARTICULARLY CHAIRMAN MAO. ALSO, WE BRING GREETINGS TO YOU FROM PRESIDENT FORD.

LI: THANK YOU. WHEN PRESIDENT FORD VISITED CHINA LAST YEAR, I MET HIM. PLEASE CONVEY MY GREETINGS TO HIM.

CURTIS: THANK YOU, I WILL DO SO. A FEW DAYS BEFORE I LEFT THE U.S. I HAD A CALL FROM FORMER PRESIDENT NIXON AND HE ASKED THAT I CONVEY HIS GREETINGS TO CHINA AND THE CHINESE PEOPLE.

LI: PLEASE CONVEY MY THANKS TO MR. NIXON.

CURTIS: YOU'LL BE PLEASED TO KNOW THAT WHEN THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF OUR VISIT WAS MADE, ALL OF US EXPERIENCED A TREMDNDOUS RESPONSE FROM OUR PEOPLE WHO EXPRESSED A GREAT INTEREST IN CHINA. MY
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NEBRASKA CONSTITUENTS WERE DELIGHTED THAT WE WERE MAKING THIS TRIP.

LI: YOUR STATE HAS A HIGHLY DEVELOPED AGRICULTURE.

CURTIS: YES, WE ARE A GREAT AGRICULTURAL STATE. A NUMBER OF THE SENATORS HERE REPRESENT AGRICULTURAL STATES AND WE HAVE BEEN TREMENDOUSLY IMPRESSED BY THE INDUSTRIOUSNESS OF YOUR AGRICULTURAL WORKERS.

LI: SENATOR YOUNG, YOU ARE ALSO FROM AN AGRICULTURAL STATE, I BELIEVE.

YOUNG: I'M A FARMER MYSELF AND MY THREE SONS FARM. ONE OF THE AMAZING THINGS TO ME IS THAT YOUR LAND HAS BEEN PRODUCING FOR 2,000 YEARS OR MORE AND PRODUCES JUST AS WELL AS OURS WHICH HAS BEEN PRODUCING FOR ONLY A LITTLE OVER ONE HUNDRED YEARS.

LI: IN THE PAST 2,000 YEARS OR MORE WE WERE UNDER FEUDAL RULE AND PRODUCTION WAS RESTRAINED. AFTERWARDS, THERE WAS AGGRESSION BY FOREIGN IMPERIALIST STATES SO OUR AGRICULTURE DID NOT DEVELOP. BEFORE LIBERATION (IN 1949) PRODUCTION WAS BACKWARD IN CHINA AND NOT ONLY DRAFT ANIMALS BUT ALSO HUMAN BEINGS HAD TO PULL PLOWS. THERE WAS THE RUTHLESS PLUNDER BY LANDLORDS AND BUREAUTCRATIC-CAPITALISTS, AS WELL AS BY IMPERIALISTS. SO PEASANTS

AT THAT TIME WERE IN A DIRE PLIGHT. IT WAS NOT SURPRISING THAT SEVERAL MILLION PEASANTS STARVED TO DEATH. THAT WAS THE SITUATION DURING THE FEUDAL DYNASTIES AND UNDER CHIANG KAI-SHEK RULE. YOU MIGHT VERY WELL STUDY WHY CHIANG KAI-SHEK FELL, THERE MUST BE SOME REASONS BEHIND IT. IT WAS BECAUSE HE OFFENDED THE MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE, ABOVE ALL HE OFFENDED THE PEASANTS AND WORKERS. NOW IN CHINA, WITH SUCH A VAST TERRITORY AND 800 MILLION PEOPLE, WE HAVE SOLVED THE FOOD PROBLEM IN THE MAIN, SO PEOPLE WON'T STARVE TO DEATH OR DIE OF COLD. THIS WAS THE GREAT ACHIEVEMENT MADE UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF CHAIRMAN MAO AND BY RELYING ON THE EFFORTS OF THE BROAD MASSES OF PEOPLE.

BUT WE ARE NOT SATISFIED. JUST NOW I SAID WE HAD SOLVED
THE FOOD PROBLEM IN THE MAIN. IT IS NOT YET COMPLETELY SOLVED AND
WE MUST CONTINUE OUR EFFORTS. WE JUST HAVE SUFFICIENT FOOD GRAIN
TO FEED OUR PEOPLE. WE HAVE SOME TO EXPORT BUT WE ALSO IMPORT
SOME. THE AMOUNT IS LIMITED COMPARED TO YOURS. WE EXPORT
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ONE OR TWO MILLION TONS AND IMPORT ABOUT THE SAME. WE MUST
RELY ON OUR OWN EFFORTS AND RUN EVERYTHING WITH OUR OWN STRENGTH.

CURTIS: I WISH TO COMEND YOU ON YOUR GREAT PROGRESS, AND ON
YOUR DETERMINATION TO BE SELF-SUFFICIENT IN FOOD. YOU HAVE DONE A
GREAT JOB. I UNDERSTAND YOUR EXPORTS INCLUDE SOME RICE. IS THAT
RIGHT?

LI: WE EXPORT SOME RICE AND SOY BEANS.

CURTIS: WHAT DO YOU IMPORT?

LI: A CERTAIN AMOUNT OF WHEAT, ALSO SOME FOOD GRAINS FROM
YOUR COUNTRY.

CURTIS: WHILE WE COMMEND YOUR DETERMINATION TO BE
SELF-SUFFICIENT IN FOOD GRAIN, IF YOU HAVE TO BUY ANY, PLEASE
COME TO US. SENATOR YOUNG IS A WHEAT FARMER AND SO IS
SENATOR BAYH.

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EXDIS

LI: BUT WE DON'T HAVE ENOUGH MONEY.

CURTIS: THEN WE MUST BUY SOMETHING FROM YOU. DO YOU HAVE SOME OIL TO SELL US?

LI: WE ARE JUST SELF-SUFFICIENT IN OIL. OUR SURPLUS IS NOT MUCH. OF COURSE WE HAVE BIG OIL DEPOSITS.

CURTIS: WE UNDERSTAND THE POTENTIAL IS VERY GREAT.

LI: YES, YOU'RE RIGHT. FURTHER EFFORTS SHOULD BE MADE FOR EXPLORATION. OUR OIL INDUSTRY IS STILL VERY YOUNG AND IN THE PAST WE HAD VERY LITTLE. IN 1960 WE BEGAN TO HAVE OUR OWN OIL INDUSTRY. BUT WE HAD TO IMPORT OIL FROM OTHERS, ESPECIALLY FROM OUR NEIGHBOR TO THE NORTH WHO TRIED TO STRANGLE US. PERHAPS YOU KNOW WHAT I MEAN BY OUR NEIGHBOR TO THE NORTH. WE'VE HAD BAD RELATIONS.

CURTIS: WE DON'T THINK THEY'RE VERY NEIGHBORLY.

LI: THEY SEEK HEGEMONY.

CURTIS: THE MAJOR REASON THE U.S. SPENDS SO MUCH TO STAY STRONG MILITARILY IS THAT WE FEEL THAT WILL RETARD ANY CHANCE THAT THE SOVIET
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UNION WILL TRY AGGRESSION.

LI: THE SOVIETS HAVE BIG AMBITIONS, AND WOULD LIKE TO HAVE THE WHOLE GLOBE. BUT THEY ARE UNABLE TO ACHIEVE THAT BECAUSE THEIR STRENGTH IS NOT THAT GREAT. POLITICALLY, THEY SEEK HEGEMONY NO MATTER WHAT TRICKS OR FINE WORDS THEY USE, THEY WILL EVENTUALLY BE EXPOSED BY THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD. THEIR SEEKING HEGEMONY MAKES THEM THE ENEMY OF THE WORLD'S PEOPLE. AT HOME THERE IS LOPSIDED DEVELOPMENT IN THE SOVIET ECONOMY, THERE IS NOT ENOUGH FOOD TO EAT, NOT ENOUGH FOOD GRAINS. SOME PEOPLE SATIRIZE THE SOVIET UNION BY SAYING THE SOVIETS SOW SEEDS IN THE UKRAINE AND HARVEST CROPS IN THE US. THEIR TOP PRIORITY IS THE DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONAL DEFENSE AND IN DOMESTIC POLICIES THE SOVIET UNION OPPRESSES THE MINORITY NATIONALITIES AND PRACTICES FASCIST RULE. ACTUALLY THEY ARE VERY FEEBLE.

CURTIS: YOU HAVE HAD A LONG AND DISTINGUISHED CAREER AND YOU ARE A STUDENT OF ECONOMICS. WHY IN YOUR OPINION IS THE SOVIET ECONOMY WEAK?

LI: I'M NO STUDENT OF ECONOMICS. I'M NOT A SCHOLAR OF ECONOMICS. BUT I DID FIGHT IN THE WAR. IN MY VIEW, THE SOVIET UNION HAS OFFENDED THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS AND BROAD MASSES OF THE PEOPLE, THEREFORE THERE IS NO ENTHUSIASM ON THEIR PART. IN PLANNING, THEY GIVE PROMINENCE TO DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONAL DEFENSE. OTHER BRANCHES OF INDUSTRY -- MACHINE BUILDING, CHEMICALS, ETC, -- ARE LAGGING BEHIND. IN RELATIONS BETWEEN INDUSTRY AND AGRICULTURE, THEY NEGLECT THE DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURE. YOU CAN STUDY WHETHER OR NOT I'M RIGHT. IN THE SOVIET UNION LINE, PRINCIPLES, AND POLICIES ARE ALL WRONG. THEY PRACTICE REVISIONISM AND FASCISM, AND THERE IS NO WAY TO MOBILIZE THE ENTHUSIASM OF THE WORKERS, PEASANTS AND OTHER PEOPLE.

CURTIS: WE IN THE U.S. ARE VERY AWARE OF THE SOVIET MILITARY THREAT AND THE GREAT SUMS THEY ARE SPENDING ON ARMAMENTS. THAT IS WHY WE INTEND TO STAY STRONG, WHY WE MAKE SACRIFICES IN MANY PARTS OF THE WORLD TO RESIST SOVIET AGGRESSION.

LI: WE ARE ALSO AWARE OF SOVIET MILITARY STRENGTH, BUT THEY
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TALK OF DISARMAMENT EVERY DAY.

CURTIS: DO YOU THINK THE SOVIETS HAVE PLANS FOR WESTERN EUROPE IF THEY ARE NOT RESISTED?

LI: WHAT DO YOU MEAN BY PLANS? THE SOVIETS THINK FIRST OF ALL ABOUT EUROPE.

CURTIS: I MEAN AGGRESSIVE PLANS.

LI: SOME PEOPLE IN THE WORLD TEND TO THINK THAT THE FOCUS OF SOVIET STRATEGY LIES IN THE EAST. CHAIRMAN MAO THOUGHT THAT THE SOVIET STRATEGIC FOCUS WAS IN EUROPE, INCLUDING THE MIDDLE EAST. THIS DOES NOT MEAN WE WILL SLACKEN OUR VIGILANCE. WE ARE HEIGHTENING OUR VIGILANCE. THAT IS WHY WE DIG TUNNELS DEEP AND STORE GRAIN EVERYWHERE. BY DIGGING TUNNELS DEEP WE MEAN IF THE SOVIETS INVADE US WE WILL FIGHT BACK. MAO TAUGHT US TO PREPARE AGAINST WAR, PREPARE AGAINST NATURAL DISASTERS, AND DO EVERYTHING FOR THE PEOPLE. BY PREPARING FOR WAR WE MEAN IF THE SOVIETS ATTACK CHINA, WE CERTAINLY WILL FIGHT BACK. BUT THE FOCUS OF SOVIET STRATEGY REMAINS IN EUROPE INCLUDING THE MIDDLE EAST. SO WE SUPPORT A UNITED EUROPE. BUT AT PRESENT THE EUROPEAN COUNTRIES ARE TOO DIVIDED.

CURTIS: DO YOU SUPPORT THE EFFORTS OF THE UNITED STATES TO

MAKE NATO STRONG?

LI: YOU CAN'T AFFORD TO LEAVE EUROPE, NEITHER CAN EUROPE.

CURTIS: THE US HAS ASSUMED RESPONSIBILITY IN SO MANY PLACES
IN THE WORLD AND WE EXPECT TO CONTINUE THOSE RESPONSIBILITIES. SO
WE WELCOME THE SUPPORT OF THE GREAT PEOPLE OF CHINA IN OPPOSITION
TO SOVIET AGGRESSION.

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EXDIS

LI: WE HOPE YOU WILL ESTABLISH AN EQUAL PARTNERSHIP WITH EUROPE
AND ALL OTHER PEOPLES OF THE WORLD.

CURTIS: DO THE SOVIETS HAVE MANY TROOPS ON YOUR BORDERS?

LI: THEY CLAIM TO HAVE STATIONED ABOUT ONE MILLION TROOPS ON THE
BORDER. THE BORDER EXTENDS OVER MANY THOUSANDS OF KILOMETERS. ITS
A LONG FRONT LINE. DO YOU THINK THE ONE MILLION TROOPS ARE
DIRECTED AGAINST CHINA ONLY? I THINK THEY ARE PRIMARILY DIRECTED
AGAINST THE U.S., THEN AGAINST JAPAN, AND OF COURSE ARE ALSO
DIRECTED AGAINST CHINA. ONE MILLION TROOPS IS NOT ENOUGH TO FIGHT
AGAINST CHINA. EVEN IF THEY ADDED ANOTHER ONE MILLION IT WOULD
NOT BE ENOUGH, NOR EVEN TWO MILLION MORE. IF THE SOVIETS COME,
WE'LL YIELD SOME PLACES TO THEM, THEN CLOSE OUR DOOR AND BEAT THE
DOG INSIDE THE ROOM. WHEN THE DOOR IS CLOSED, IT IS EASIER TO
DEAL WITH THE DOG AND TO BEAT THE DOG. THAT WAS THE WAY WE

FOUGHT THE JAPANESE. WE CLOSED THE DOOR AND THOROUGHLY
ANNIHILATED THE JAPANESE. AT THAT TIME, CHINA WAS RULED BY
CHIANG KAI-SHEK AND LARGE TRACTS OF TERRITORY IN THE NORTH AND
CENTRAL CHINA WERE LEFT TO US BECAUSE CHIANG KAI-SHEK RAN AWAY.
CHIANG KAI-SHEK FIRST RAN FROM THE NORTHEAST AND THE JAPANESE
OCCUPIED IT. THEN FROM NORTH, CENTRAL, SOUTH AND EAST CHINA.
CHIANG KAI-SHEK TROOPS WERE RUNNING IN FRONT OF THE JAPANESE AND
OUR TROOPS WERE RUNNING AFTER THE JAPANESE. THEY TURNED THEIR
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BACKS TO THE JAPANESE BUT WE FACED THE JAPANESE. DURING THE WAR
OF RESISTANCE AGAINST THE JAPANESE, NORTH, CENTRAL, EVEN EAST AND
SOUTH CHINA WAS LED BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY. SO ONE MILLION
SOVIET TROOPS ON THE BORDER WILL BE NO MATCH FOR US.
IN FINAL ANALYSIS, THE FOCUS OF THE SOVIET STRATEGY IS EUROPE.
MY FRIENDS MAY NOT BELIEVE MY WORDS BUT FACTS WILL BEAR ME
OUT. AS FOR THE DISARMAMENT THEY ARE ALWAYS
TALKING ABOUT, WE DON'T BELIEVE IT.

CURTIS: WHAT WOULD BE THE BEST STRATEGY IN EUROPE TO OPPOSE
SOVIET AGGRESSION?

LI: I DON'T KNOW. THE SOVIET UNION WANTS TO SWALLOW UP THAT
PLACE.

CURTIS: ARE YOU MAKING PROGRESS IN YOUR ARMAMENT PROGRAM?

LI: SINCE WE MUST MAKE PREPARATIONS AGAINST WAR, WE MUST MANUFACTURE
SOME THINGS.

CURTIS: YOU HAVE BEEN VERY GRACIOUS IN RECEIVING US. I WOULD LIKE TO
YIELD AT THIS POINT TO THE VICE CHAIRMAN OF OUR DELEGATION,
SENATOR BIRCH BAYH OF THE STATE OF INDIANA. HE MIGHT WISH TO MAKE
SOME COMMENTS OR ASK SOME QUESTIONS.

BAYH: MR. VICE PREMIER. THIS IS MY FIRST TIME IN YOUR COUNTRY.
EARLIER

I SAW IT THROUGH THE EYES OF MY FATHER WHO WAS HERE AT THE TIME WHEN
SENATOR STEVENS WAS HERE, BUT IT'S NOT LIKE SEEING IT MYSELF. MY WIFE
AND I ARE DELIGHTED AND EXTREMELY IMPRESSED BY WHAT WE HAVE SEEN.
IT WOULD BE REMISS OF US NOT TO INDICATE OUR GRATITUDE
TO YOUR VICE FOREIGN MINISTER WHO MET US YESTERDAY, TO OUR HOST
AT THE BANQUET AND TO ALL THOSE, INCLUDING MADAME KANG, WHO HAVE
SHOWN US THE KINDEST HOSPITALITY.

LI: WHAT YEARS WAS YOUR FATHER IN CHINA?

BAYH: 1943-45. I'M A FARMER BASICALLY AS WELL AS A SENATOR. I HAVE
BEEN IMPRESSED BY THE WAY THAT THE GREATEST AMOUNT OF PRODUCTION IS
OBTAINED FROM EACH SQUARE CENTIMETER OF GROUND, BY THE INDUSTRIOUS-

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OF YOUR PEOPLE AND BY THE DIVERSIFICATION OF YOUR AGRICULTURE. WE
HAVE SEEN ALL THIS AS WELL AS YOUR CANCER INSTITUTE, YOUR HOSPITAL,
YOUR
INDUSTRIES. IT IS TO SEE THE LEGEND OF CHAIRMAN MAO COME ALIVE.
WE CAN THUS REALIZE BETTER THE DEPTH OF THE GRIEF YOUR COUNTRY MUST
HAVE AT THE DEATH OF THE CHAIRMAN, AND WE WISH TO CONVEY OUR
SYMPATHY.

LI: THANK YOU.

BAYH: I WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOUR THOUGHTS ON A DIFFERENT AREA.
YOU HAVE UNDERSTANDABLY TALKED ABOUT DEFENSE AGAINST THE WAR-MAKING
POTENTIAL OF THE SOVIET UNION, WHICH IS OF COURSE EXTREMELY IMPORT-
ANT.
WE ARE ALL CONCERNED THAT ANOTHER WAR WITH THE MODERN INSTRUMENTS OF
WAR NOW AVAILABLE WOULD BE A HOLOCAUST. I WOULD LIKE TO TALK ABOUT
PEACE. I DO NOT WISH TO CONTRADICT ANYTHING
YOU HAVE SAID BUT WE HAVE HEARD OF THE IMPORTANT
WORK YOU HAVE GIVEN IN ECONOMIC GUIDANCE IN HELPING CHAIRMAN MAO.
I BELIEVE YOU ARE AN ECONOMIC GENIUS. I APPRECIATE YOUR MODESTY, BUT
I

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BELIEVE WE CAN SEE YOUR EXPERTISE EVERYWHERE.

LI: YOU FLATTER ME.

BAYH: THIS HAS BEEN A LONG PROLOGUE. I WOULD LIKE TO GET YOUR THOUGHTS
ON WHAT I THINK OUR WHOLE COUNTRY WOULD LIKE TO KNOW. AS I UNDERSTAND
SOMETIME THIS YEAR YOU WILL PROMULGATE YOUR FIFTH FIVE YEAR PLAN OF
YOUR COUNTRY. ARE THERE ELEMENTS IN THIS PLAN WHICH YOU COULD DISCLOSE
TO US IN WHICH A CLOSER
RELATIONSHIP OF FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION BETWEEN CHINA AND THE US
COULD BE BENEFICIAL? ARE THERE WAYS IN WHICH WE COULD BE OF ASSISTANCE
-- ALTHOUGH I CAN APPRECIATE YOUR STRONG FEELING OF SELF-RELIANCE --
TRADE OPPORTUNITIES, MACHINERY, FACTORIES, EQUIPMENT AND A LARGE
RANGE OF AREAS WHICH COULD BE PART OF THE
CONTINUING RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES?

LI: SPEAKING ABOUT OUR PLAN IS COMPLEX AND INVOLVES LOTS OF
ASPECTS. IT IS DIFFICULT TO DISCUSS IN A SYSTEMATIC WAY.
DURING HIS LIFETIME, CHAIRMAN MAO NOT ONLY LAID DOWN THE BASIC
LINE FOR POLICY BUT ALSO THE BASIC LINE AND
PRINCIPLES FOR CONSTRUCTION OF THE COUNTRY. THESE PRINCIPLES WERE
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STATED IN THE REPORT BY THE LATE PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI AT THE FOURTH NATIONAL
CONFERENCE.
HE DISCUSSED THE MODERNIZATION OF INDUSTRY, AGRICULTURE, NATIONAL
DEFENSE, AND SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY. IN MAKING ECONOMIC PLANS, WE
MUST FIRST THINK OF THE 800 MILLION PEOPLE AND BEAR
IN MIND THE FOOD, CLOTHING AND HOUSING PROBLEMS OF 800 MILLION PEOPLE
.
SO WE PLAN THE ECONOMY IN THE ORDER OF AGRICULTURE, LIGHT INDUSTRY
AND HEAVY INDUSTRY. THIS WAS CONSISTENT WITH THE TEACHINGS OF CHAIRMAN
MAO THAT WE MUST FIRST DEVELOP AGRICULTURE. IF WE DON'T HAVE ENOUGH
FOOD FOR OUR PEOPLE, EVEN IF WE IMPORT 10 OR 20 MILLION TONS OF GRAIN
,
THIS WOULD NOT SOLVE OUR PROBLEM. IF AGRICULTURE IS DEVELOPED, IT
IS EASIER TO DEVELOP LIGHT INDUSTRY, AND HEAVY INDUSTRY WILL HAVE A
SOLID FOUNDATION. SO WE MAKE OUR PLANS ACCORDING TO THIS PRINCIPLE.
WE HAVE A PLAN BUT IT IS NOT YET FINALIZED. WE HAVE NO INTENTION OF
MAKING IT PUBLIC. THE PLAN HAS NOT YET MATURED AND IS STILL UNDER
DISCUSSION. IN DISCUSSING IT WE MAY FIND NEW PROBLEMS AND REVISE THE
PLAN. AS FOR RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES, ESPECIALLY

TRADE, IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN. WE HAVE BOUGHT SOME EQUIPMENT FROM THE
US
--SUCH AS CHEMICAL FERTILIZER PLANTS.

BAYH: THE KELLOGG UREA PLANTS.

LI: IT DEPENDS ON WHETHER WE NEED THIS AND ARE ABLE TO DO IT. THE
QUESTION OF NECESSITY IS EASY. BUT IF WE ASK OUR MINISTER, HE WILL
ASK FOR MANY THINGS. AS FOR OUR ABILITY, THAT IS VERY DIFFICULT,
WE DON'T HAVE THE MONEY TO BUY. ON PRINCIPLE WE RELY ON OUR OWN
EFFORTS. MAINLY WE RELY ON OUR OWN EFFORTS. WE DO NOT PLAN TO BE IN
DEBT. WE WERE ONCE IN DEBT TO THE SOVIET UNION. OUR DEBTS TO THE SOVI
ET
UNION WERE INCURRED IN 1950-51 DURING THE WAR OF RESISTANCE AGAINST
THE U.S. AND TO ASSIST KOREA. WE FOUGHT A WAR IN THAT COUNTRY, OUR
TWO COUNTRIES. IT IS NOT PLEASANT TO BE A DEBTOR.

BAYH: IT IS NOT PLEASANT TO BE A CREDITOR OF THE SOVIETS EITHER.

LI: PERHAPS THE SOVIET UNION FINDS IT PLEASANT. THEN WE MADE
OUR MINDS UP TO REPAY ALL DEBTS TO THE SOVIET UNION. AFTER THAT WE
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NEVER INCURRED ANY FOREIGN OR DOMESTIC DEBTS. ONCE WE ISSUED PUBLIC
BONDS BUT WE LATER REPAID THEM. SO AS TO TRADE BETWEEN OUR
TWO COUNTRIES, WE'LL HAVE TO SEE. I HAVE JUST SAID THAT IT DEPENDS ON
NECESSITY AND ABILITY. ANOTHER THING IS YOUR HIGH TARIFF WHICH IS
TROUBLESOME. I THINK IT IS NOT EASY TO SOLVE THIS PROBLEM FOR THE
TIME BEING. ROUGHLY THIS IS WHERE WE ARE AT THE PRESENT STAGE. I
THINK WE IMPORT MORE FROM THE U.S. THAN YOU DO FROM US.

BAYH: YOU HAVE BEEN VERY KIND AND I APPRECIATE YOUR RESPONSE.
WHAT I ASKED WAS IN RESPECT TO OUR FUTURE RELATIONS. I THINK THAT TO
THE EXTENT THAT WE CAN INCREASE TRADE OPPORTUNITIES, PERMIT MORE
PEOPLE OF THE US TO VISIT CHINA AND MORE CHINESE TO VISIT THE U.S.
-- THERE HAS BEEN SOME OF THIS BUT IT SHOULD BE INCREASED -- TO
THE EXTENT THAT TRADE AND OTHER OPEN DOOR POLICIES CAN BE PURSUED
THEY WILL HELP TO FIND A SOLUTION. THE GROUP HERE IS GOING BACK
AS AMBASSADORS OF GOODWILL FOR CHINA.

LI: AT PRESENT THERE ARE LOTS OF EXCHANGES ALREADY.

CURTIS: WE FEEL PRIVILEGED AND APPRECIATE THE OPPORTUNITY TO
CARRY ON THIS CONVERSATION WITH YOU. I WOULD LIKE TO EXTEND TO
MY COLLEAGUES THE OPPORTUNITY TO SAY SOMETHING OR TO ASK QUESTIONS.

YOUNG: FIRST I WOULD LIKE TO SAY THAT I DEEPLY APPRECIATE THE
REAL FRIENDSHIP WHICH WE HAVE RECEIVED WHILE HERE. YOU HAVE OPENED
YOUR DOORS TO US AND SHOWED US REAL FRIENDSHIP. I WOULD LIKE TO SAY
ALSO THAT NO OTHER NATION IN THE WORLD COULD FEED, CLOTHE, EDUCATE,

AND PROVIDE SUCH GOOD CARE OF 800 MILLION PEOPLE. TO DO THIS AND TO
STAY OUT OF DEBT IS SOMETHING. WE COULD LEARN A FEW THINGS FROM YOU A
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INFO AMCONSUL HONG KONG

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

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STAYING OUT OF DEBT. THANK YOU.

HOLLINGS: MR. VICE PREMIER, I APPRECIATE VERY MUCH THE OPPORTUNITY
AND I AM PARTICULARLY HONORED TO HAVE THIS CONVERSATION WITH YOU,
SINCE YOU ARE WELL KNOWN IN THE U.S. AS ONE OF THE LAST OF THE
VETERANS OF THE LONG MARCH AND AS A PARTNER WITH CHAIRMAN MAO
AND PREMIER CHOU IN THE MODERNIZATION OF CHINA.

LI: WE'LL WORK STILL HARDER TO BUILD OUR COUNTRY UNDER THE
LEADERSHIP OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE HEADED BY CHAIRMAN HUA, RELYING
ON THE EFFORTS OF THE PEOPLE.

HOLLINGS: AS A SENATOR, I MUST POINT OUT THAT I SPEAK INDIVIDUALLY.
WE ARE TOLD THAT ANYTHING A U.S. SENATOR MAY UTTER IS CONSIDERED
A POSITION OF THE USG. THAT IS NOT TRUE. EACH ONE OF US SPEAKS FOR
HIMSELF. THERE ARE FIVE OTHER SENATORS HERE AND THEY DO NOT
SPEAK FOR ME AND I CANNOT SPEAK FOR THEM. I BELIEVE YOU HAVE AN
INVESTMENT IN THE TIME AND EFFORT IT TOOK TO BRING ME
ALL THE WAY TO CHINA AND I WISH TO SPEAK FRANKLY. SPEAKING FOR
MYSELF,
WE BELIEVE IN THE PRINCIPLES OF THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE AND WE

BELIEVE WE ARE ADHERING TO THE PRINCIPLES, AND AS THE COMMUNIQUE STATES, AS TENSIONS EASE, WE CAN CONTINUE TO MAKE PROGRESS UNDER THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE. WE BELIEVE THIS TRIP SO GENEROUSLY PROVIDED TO CONFIDENTIAL

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US HAS HELPED TO EASE TENSIONS AND CERTAINLY HAS ENHANCED MY UNDERSTANDING AND APPRECIATION OF CHINA. AS SENATOR, I BELIEVE THAT THERE IS ONE CHINA AND THAT YOU ARE THAT CHINA.

LI: YOU'RE RIGHT.

HOLLINGS: HOWEVER, WE HAVE HAD FRIENDS OF LONG STANDING ON TAIWAN AND AS A SENATOR, I DON'T BELIEVE THE MAJORITY OF THE U.S. SENATORS WOULD ABRUPTLY ABANDON THAT FRIENDSHIP. A JOURNEY OF 1,000 MILES, THEY SAY IN CHINA, BEGINS WITH ONE STEP. I THINK WE SHOULD MAKE STEPS TOGETHER TO TRY TO INCREASE TRADE, OPEN AIR ROUTES, AND ON OUR SIDE REDUCE TROOPS ON TAIWAN TO MAKE STEPS TO THE REALIZATION OF THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE PRINCIPLES. WE IN THE US HAVE NEVER BELIEVED IN HEGEMONY. THE FACT IN OUR LONG HISTORY IS THAT WE GAVE FREEDOM TO THE PHILIPPINES AND CUBA.

AFTER WORLD WAR II IN WHICH WE DEFEATED GERMANY, ITALY, AND JAPAN, WE NOT ONLY GAVE THEM FREEDOM BUT ALSO FINANCED THEIR RECOVERY.

LI: PEOPLE IN THE WORLD BELIEVE YOU STILL HAVE SOME HEGEMONY.

HOLLINGS:

WE ABSOLUTELY REFUTE THAT BY OUR OWN ACTS OVER 200 YEARS OF HISTORY. WE WISH NOTHING BUT FREEDOM FOR THE PEOPLES AND I THINK THE U.S. AND CHINA WORKING TOGETHER COULD BRING ABOUT FREEDOM AND ECONOMIC SUSTENANCE TO THE THIRD WORLD.

I'M SURE THIS VISIT HAS SERVED AS A PLATFORM OR STJATING POINT FOR ME AS A SENATOR TO UNDERSTAND AND APPRECIATE THE GREATNESS OF CHINA AND I HOPE SIMILAR VISITS BY YOUR DISTINGUISHED LEADERS TO THE U.S. WILL FOLLOW.

LI: HOW CAN WE GO TO THE US SINCE THE EMBASSY OF THE TAIWAN CLIQUE IS THERE?

HOLLINGS: THAT'S ONE OF THE PROBLEMS WE WILL HAVE TO SOLVE AND WE IN THE SENATE WILL BE WORKING ON THAT PROBLEM.

LI: THE SOLUTION MUST CONFORM TO THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE.

CURTIS: SENATOR STEVENS OF ALASKA.

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LI: THAT IS THE NORTHERNMOST STATE.

STEVENS: YES WE ARE. ALASKA IS SOMEWHAT SIMILAR TO YUNNAN PROVINCE WHERE I WAS STATIONED DURING THE WAR. IT MAY INTEREST YOU TO KNOW THAT THOSE OF US IN THE AIR FORCE HERE HAD GREAT RESPECT FOR YOUR PEOPLE IN THE NORTH. MY SQUADRON SUPPLIED YOUR TROOPS AT TIMES. YOU SPEAK THE TRUTH WHEN YOU SAY YOU REALLY FOUGHT THE JAPANESE. WE KNEW THAT AND RESPECTED YOU FOR IT. MY LARGE COLLEAGUE FROM THE SOUTH, HE SPEAKS CANDIDLY AND WE RESPECT HIS CANDOR. BUT I'D LIKE TO PURSUE HIS POINT. ISN'T THERE SOME WAY WE COULD START THE FLOW OF VISITS BOTH WAYS? WE HAVE DIFFICULTIES IN CONGRESS IN BEING ABLE TO FOLLOW THROUGH ON THE IMPLICATIONS OF THIS RELATIONSHIP BASED ON A LACK OF UNDERSTANDING. YOUR PEOPLE HAVE DOUBLED SINCE I WAS HERE. YOUR HOUSING AND FOOD PROBLEMS HAVE BEEN SOLVED, BUT THAT WORD ISN'T GETTING BACK TO THE U.S. WE NEED MORE OF OUR PEOPLE COMING THIS WAY BUT ALSO MORE OF YOUR PEOPLE COMING TO THE U.S. TO VISIT COLLEGES, OUR COUNTIES, OUR CITIES, TO INCREASE FRIENDSHIP AND UNDERSTANDING. I HAVE BEEN AMAZED BY THE FRIENDSHIP I HAVE FOUND HERE. I AM DEEPLY IMPRESSED BY THE SMILES I HAVE SEEN ON THE STREETS HERE BECAUSE I DIDN'T SEE THAT DURING THE WAR. PERHAPS PEOPLE DON'T SMILE DURING WARS. BUT THIS IS A TWO WAY STREET, THIS APPROACH TO NORMALIZATION. SOMEHOW I DON'T SEE MUCH COMING OUR WAY ON THAT TWO-WAY STREET.

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LI: IT IS NOT A BAD RECORD HAVING SO MANY PEOPLE VISITING BEFORE COMPLETION OF NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS. THE FUTURE DEPENDS ON EVENTS, NEVERTHELESS THERE WILL BE EXCHANGES. AS FOR VISITS BY OFFICIALS, OUR RELATIONS ARE NOT YET NORMALIZED. IN WASHINGTON THERE IS STILL THE EMBASSY OF TAIWAN. IF WE GO, BOTH YOU AND WE WILL BE EMBARRASSED. I'VE HEARD VICE FOREIGN MINISTER WANG TOLD YOU THAT THE MAJOR ASPECT IS THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION, AND THE MINOR QUESTION IS TAIWAN. I THINK SHE PUT THE QUESTION VERY WELL. NEVERTHELESS TAIWAN REMAINS AN ISSUE. I THINK OUR AMERICAN FRIENDS, ESPECIALLY MR. GATES, KNOW OUR VIEWS VERY WELL SO I WON'T DISCUSS THIS ANY MORE.

JOHNSTON: MR. VICE PREMIER, I WOULD LIKE TO ADD MY THANKS FOR THE WARM HOSPITALITY, I AM PARTICULARLY REASSURED AND PLEASED TO LEARN THAT CHAIRMAN HUA IS COMMITTED TO CHAIRMAN MAO'S POLICIES IN CARRYING OUT THE PRINCIPLES OF THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE, AND TO DEVELOP FURTHER RELATIONSHIPS AND COOPERATION BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES.

LI: YOU ARE RIGHT THAT WE WILL CARRY OUT THE BEHEST OF CHAIRMAN MAO.

JOHNSTON: IN OUR COUNTRY, POLICY DOES NOT TRICKLE DOWN FROM THE TOP BUT COMES UP FROM THE PEOPLE. PRESIDENTS HAVE FOUND THIS OUT
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IN A COUPLE OF INSTANCES, MOST RECENTLY IN OUR POLICIES IN SOUTHEAST ASIA AND THE MIDDLE EAST. WHAT MY COLLEAGUES ARE TRYING TO SAY IS THAT

WE ARE TRYING TO HELP YOU AND YOU MUST HELP US WITH OUR PEOPLE IN DEVELOPING THIS FRIENDSHIP.

CURTIS: MR. VICE PREMIER, THIS HAS BEEN A MOST ENJOYABLE AND HELPFUL OCCASION. I AM GRATEFUL TO YOU FOR HAVING RECEIVED US AND EXPRESS THE GRATITUDE OF ALL OF US FOR THE INVITATION TO BRING OUR WIVES ALONG. THEY ARE A AVERY INFLUENTIAL GROUP AND HAVE ENJOYED IT, ESPECIALLY OUR HOSPITAL TRIP YESTERDAY TO SEE YOUR ADVANCES IN CANCER TREATMENT. THANK YOU FOR THIS AND I EXPRESS THE GRATITUDE OF ALL OF US.

LI: YOU SHOULD HAVE ASKED THE LADIES TO SIT IN FRONT.

CURTIS: YOU ARE A VERY WISE MAN.

LI: WE MUST SHOW RESPECT FOR THE LADIES. I WOULD LIKE TO THANK YOU FOR COMING, FOR HAVING TRAVELLED SO FAR. I EXPRESS

MY WELCOME TO YOU.
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